

ON THE WORD ORDER IN THE PHRASE OF THE TO-INFINITIVE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD FROM OE TO ME

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It is particularly difficult to determine what part of the restrictions are grammatical and what stylistic. Yet a satisfactory statement is contingent upon distinguishing these two clearly (H.A. Gleason, Jr., *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, 1965, p. 155).

1.1. In his short but very inspiring paper, *Some Remarks on Late O.E. Word-Order* (*English Studies*, 37, 1956, pp. 99—104), Otto Funke says, "I dare say it is now a generally accepted opinion that the oldest order in Germanic was verbal *end-position* (i.e. S.....V), and that in historical times we can observe a gradual movement of the verb towards *contact order* (i.e. SV), the lighter verbs making quicker progress than the full ones in independent sentences. In the mirror of OE literature we can follow up this interesting process which had not yet come to an end in late Old English" (pp. 102—3). If we represent the modifier of the verb by X, this means that the word order was in the process of changing in the OE period from SXV to SVX. This similar tendency, I dare say, can be found in the word order of the infinitival phrase during the transitional period from OE to ME.

The traditional explanation by Sanders¹⁾, Bock²⁾, and Mossé³⁾, about

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- 1) Hermann Sanders, *Der syntaktische Gebrauch des Infinitivs im Frühmittel-englischen* (Heidelberg, 1915, p. 25).
 - 2) Helmut Bock, *Studien zum Präpositionalen Infinitiv und Akkusativ mit dem To-Infinitiv* (*Anglia* 55, 1931, p. 186).
 - 3) Fernand Mossé, *Manuel de l'anglais du moyen age, moyen-anglais*, (§ 129, 1949).

the origin of the *forto*-infinitive is now challenged in our country. But can we not find some means to support the old theory in the "gradual movement" of both the finite verb and infinitive in Late OE and Early ME?

1.2. In Skeat's edition of *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*⁴⁾, nos. 23, 23B, & 33 are not Ælfric's works according to N.R. Ker⁵⁾. In his *The Chronology of Ælfric's Works*⁶⁾, P.A.M. Clemoes eliminates the four items, Skeat XXIII, XXIIIB, XXX and XXXIII as not by Ælfric (p. 219). But British Museum, Cotton Julius E vii which contains these four is a manuscript of the 11th century. So we may be allowed to take them up as materials for a research of OE prose.

In this unpretentious paper the *to*-infinitive in the construction of *be+to-inf.* (in the secondary use after the terminology by O. Jespersen) will not be treated. As W. van der Gaaf⁷⁾ says, this construction is not a spontaneous development in English, so it would be better to put it out of consideration in this research of the word order.

1.3. In Skeat XIV 30—32, for example, which Bock quotes in *op. cit.* p. 148,⁸⁾ the second inf. *gehyrsumian* is regarded in this paper as one instance of the *to*-inf., combined with the preposition *to* preceding the first one.

and me bet licað to forlættenne nu
 þisne hwilwendlican wurðmynt and þæs wuldor-fullan godes
 cyne-dome gehyrsumian on haligre drohtnunge (XIV 30—2).

4) *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* I—IV (ed. W.W. Skeat) *EETS*.

5) N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957, p. 206).

6) *The Anglo-Saxons, Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to Bruce Dickens* (ed. Peter Clemoes, London, 1959).

7) "As this construction at first only occurred in texts translated from Latin, and as it almost invariably rendered *esse+future participle*, it may safely be assumed that it was not due to spontaneous development, but owed its origin to imitation of the Latin construction" (W. van der Gaaf, *Beon and habban connected with an inflected infinitive*, *English Studies* 13, 1937, p. 176).

8) Bock quotes this as a specimen to be excluded from those examples collected by Callaway in the chapter on the bare inf. as the subject in his *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon* (Washington 1913).

We find 8 examples of the same kind in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*. They are so few in number we cannot find any definite characteristic word order in those infinitival phrases.

2.1. Now we are going to consider the distribution of the word orders of the infinitival phrases in Skeat XXIII, XXIIIB, XXX, and XXXIII. In these four items 49 specimens of the *to*-inf. are found by the present writer. If we take up the first modifier in the infinitival phrase and represent it by the sign X, and the *to*-infinitive itself by *to*-I, we get the following figures.

Table I

Word Order Classification	X + <i>to</i> -I	<i>to</i> -I + X	<i>to</i> -I	Total
A	17 (0.347-%)	11 (0.224+-%)	21 (0.429-%)	49
B	21 (0.429-%)	12 (0.245-%)	16 (0.327-%)	49

The reason why two series of figures are offered is as follows. In Skeat XII 186, for example, if we take *forligr* as the regimen of the *to*-infinitive, the phrase will be *to*-I + X. If we take it as the subject of the finite verb, the phrase will be *to*-I. Similarly in the passage Skeat XXIII 831, the phrase will be construed as X + *to*-I or *to*-I according to how we take *hit*.

Hi wurdon þa beſwungene and ſwyðlice getintregode

ſwa ſwa þa wæs gewunelic to witnigenne forligr (XII 186).

and his agene ſtefne gehyre ſwa ſwa hit toweardlic is to gehyranne (XXIII 831).

If we construe both of them as *to*-I, applying Bock's principle⁹⁾ about

9) For example, in the following sentence, Callaway regards *to befeonne* as the subject in his *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon* (Washington, 1913).

No þæt yðe byþ / to befeonne (*Beow.* 1003).

Bock asserts that *þæt* is the subject and the infinitive the modifier of *yðe*. "Indem für das Sprachbewusstsein sich in diesen Fällen logischer Doppeldeutigkeit die alten syntaktischen Beziehungen verdunkelten und allmählich unverständlich wurden, trat eine syntaktische Gliederverschiebung ein,

the inf. strictly, we get Classification A. If we take them for specimens of $to-I+X$ and $X+to-I$, we get Classification B. Now we are going to examine the distribution of the word orders according to Classification A.

2.2. A glance at this table will not give us a clear idea which order is relatively superior, $X+to-I$ or $to-I+X$. It will be necessary for us to examine those 17 and 11 examples, discriminate strata in them and understand the implication of those figures. X's are sorted as follows.

	$X+to-I$	$to-I+X$
Substantival Regimen	7	4
Pronominal Regimen	5	0
Substantival Clause	0	3
Adverb	2	0
Adverbial Phrase	3	2
Adverbial Clause	0	2
Total	17	11

As is apparent in the rhythmical prose of *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, long units are liable to follow the $to-inf.$ ¹⁰⁾ So it is natural that the clause appears in the position of X in $to-I+X$. We have only to examine (a) 4 examples of the substantival regimen and (b) 2 of the adverbial phrase in the construction of $to-I+X$.

- (a) Ic cwæð ær to þe; Ðu halga wer miltsa me þæt þu me ne genyde to arecenne mine gescyrdnyssse (XXIIIB 360).

and me þa leafe forgif to geopenigenne þone ingang pinre þære halgan cyrcan (XXIIIB 442).

durch die das Nomen als Ergänzung des Infinitivs aufgefasst wurde und dieser mit seiner Ergänzung in die Stellung eines Subjekts bzw. einer Ergänzung des Verbums gerückt wurde...Sicheren Boden hat man erst dann gewonnen, wenn der Infinitiv absolut gebraucht oder seine eigene Ergänzung bei sich hat, so dass das logische Doppelverhältnis nicht mehr besteht, dass das Subjekt des Satzes zugleich Objekt des Infinitivs ist" (*op. cit.*, p. 130).

- 10) "D'autre distinctions se sont également avérée très importantes, notamment celle faite par Ries et Rothstein entre éléments lourd et éléments légers, distinction conservée par M. Fourquet" (P. Bacquet, *La structure de la phrase verbale à l'époque alfrédienne*, Paris, 1962, p. 26).

nu is seo tid to gefyllenne and to gefremmane swa ic ær cwæð þinre ðære licwurðan mundbyrdnysse (XXIIIB 478).

buton hit unaræfnedlic sy to ofer-cumenne þa þing þe us synd fram ðe forestihtode (XXX 133).

- (b) Ac for þam þe seo gyfu ne bið oncnawen of þære medemnysse ac gewuna he is to getacnigenne of þære sawla dædum (XXIIIB 241).

To hwy gedrefest þu abbot þine geþohtas to geāswicianne on me swylce ic hwylc gast syrwiende gebedu fremme (XXIIIB 283).

2.3. (a) In XXIIIB 360 a phenomenon of chiasmus can be seen. After OV of the main part comes the order *to-I+X*. In XXIIIB 442 the same explanation applies. Besides, X is rather heavy, combined with a genitival phrase. In XXX 133 the substantive is followed by a relative clause.¹¹⁾ (b) In XXIIIB 241, *of þære sawla dædum* in the infinitival phrase stands in the parallel place to *of þære medemnysse* after the finite verb. In XXIIIB 283, if the modifier of the inf. preceded *to geāswic-ianne*, it would clash with the object of the finite verb. Besides, *on me* and *swylce ic...* have a close relation. In some of those examples, the posterior order of the modifier may be due to emphasis, esp. in XXIIIB 478.

On the other hand if we examine 7 specimens with substantival regimens and 3 with the adverbial phrase in *X+to-I*, we can find no particular characteristic in any separate sb. or adverbial phrase to cause it to precede the inf., unless we admit that the word order is fundamental. According to *An Old Eng. Gram.* by Quirk and Wrenn (Methuen, 1955), "adverbs in general precede the items (words, phrases, clauses) that they modify: *ne mihte* 'could not', *þær arærde* 'raised there', *þær stod* 'stood there', *he wel cuþe Scyttisc* 'he knew Gaelic well',....." (p. 91) and "When O is a pronoun, it frequently precedes V" (p. 94). So it would be natural that the pronoun or adverb precede the *to-inf.* Besides, Bacquet finds the fundamental word order to be 'X—gerondif' in 'le groupe du gerondif'

11) But in XXIIIB 540, which is a case of the equivocal use of the *to-inf.*, the *to-inf.* stands between the antecedent and relative clause, splitting the construction.

þonne hi me on mode gebrohton þa deoffican leoþ to singanne þe ic ær on worulde geleornode (XXIIIB 540).

with two elements in Alfredian English (*op. cit.*, p. 552). The word order of $X+to-I$ seems to be fundamental, unless the clause is the modifier of the inf. In other words, $X+to-I$ was still the grammatical order in Late OE, while $to-I+X$ was stylistic. This is palpable, for example, from the possibility of the to -inf. standing either between the antecedent and relative clause or before both of them. If the adverbial phrase was the modifier of the to -inf., the order $to-I+X$ came to have a neutral colour earliest. This will be seen from the nearly fifty fifty distribution of $X+to-I$ and $to-I+X$. According to Quirk and Wrenn, "adverbial phrases and adverbs of more than one syllable tended in particular to be placed in relatively posterior position" (*op. cit.*, p. 92).

2.4. We come across 8 examples of the to -inf. with more than 2 modifiers. If we represent those modifiers by X , Y , (& Z), (a) 5 cases out of them show the word order of $X+to-I+Y$. (If the finite has more than two modifiers, the similar word order *i.e.* $X+V+Y (+Z)$, can be often met with. See O. Funke, *op. cit.* p. 102.) X is usually a substantive or pronoun and Y is an adverbial phrase. (b) In XXIIIB 44 *forð heonan* (X) might be felt shorter or *on þære ecan eadignysse* (Z ?) might be construed as an epithet of the preceding substantive. In XXIIIB 283, which has been already quoted in this paper, *on me* is put in the posterior place, lest it should clash with the modifier of the finite verb. (c) In XXIIIB 368 if we take the relative particle *þe* as a regimen of the to -inf. the word order will be $X...+Y+to-I$, which is the opposite case to that found in XXIII 283. The construction $X...+Y+to-I$ will be often found in other items of Skeat *Ælfric* when X is an interrogative or relative pronoun. (d) The composite passive form, found in XXX 123-5, is treated as one unit here.

- (a) Zosimus wundrigende and teoligende his cneowu to bigenne hire ongeanweardes heo ongan of þam wætrum clypigan and forbeodan (XXIIIB 686).
- (b) þa...þe heora lichaman symle geclænsiað mid syfrum þeawum and mid purhwæccendlican mode forð heonan to under þa toweardan mede on þære ecan eadignysse (XXIIIB 44).
- (c) Ic þa sona þa swingle me fram awarep þe ic seldon gewunode on handa to hæbbenne (XXIIIB 368).
- (d) swa þe eac gedafenað to efestenne þæt þu me þam undeadlican cynincge

pine trywa gehealde and on þissum tidum beon gecostnod þurh þrowunga
and geswinc (XXX 123—5).

2.5. Excepting XXIII 831, those equivocal infinitives referred to in
2.1. are as follows.

he (god)...us gerecce þa weorc to begangenne be him licige (XXIIIB 76).
oððe hwæs wilnast þu fram me to hæbbenne, oppe to witenne (XXIIIB
224).

Me wæs swilce swiðlic lust þara sceandlicra scepleoða me gedrefdon
þonne hi me on mode gebrohton þa deoflican leop to singanne þe ic ær on
worulde geleornode (XXIIIB 540).

Efne nu ure gewilnung is gefylled þæt we togædere cuman moston and
geearnian to onfone þone gemanan þara haligra (XXX 430).

Is *þone gemanan þara haligra* in XXX 430 the modifier of *geearnian* or
onfone?

3.1. We are going to see how matters stand in Ælfric's own ordinary
prose. We will take up as materials for research,

(a) The preface (ll. 35—45) and no. I of Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*
(*LS*).

(b) Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis* (*The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*,
ed. S.J. Crawford, *EETS* 160) (*PG*).

(c) *Genesis*, chs. I—III, VI—IX, and XII—XIX, 19 (*ibid.*)¹² (*G*).

The number of the three kinds of the *to*-inf. are as follows.

Table II

Word Order Text	X+ <i>to</i> -I	<i>to</i> -I+X	<i>to</i> -I	Total
<i>LS</i>	2	2	2	6
<i>PG</i>	3	1	2	6
<i>G</i>	2	6	6	14
Total	7	9	10	26

12) This selection of chapters is based on P.A.M. Clemoes' description (*op. cit.*, p. 222).

In $X+to-I$ of the above table X 's are.

Text	Sb.	Pron.	Adv.	Total
<i>LS</i>	1	1	0	2
<i>PG</i>	0	2	1	3
<i>G</i>	0	1	1	2
Total	1	4	2	7

In $to-I+X$, X 's are.

Text	Sb.	Adv. Phrase	Total
<i>LS</i>	2	0	2
<i>PG</i>	1	0	1
<i>G</i>	4	2	6
Total	7	2	9

It will be necessary to quote and examine all the specimens of $to-I+X$.

Gewylnung is þam menn forgifen to gewilnienne þa þing þe him fremiað to nit-wyrðum þingum and to þære ecan hæle (*LS* I 100).

Gescead is ðære sawle forgifen to geswyssienne and to styrenne hire agen lif and ealle hire dæda (*LS* I 108).

Crist... began (t)o bodienne his halige godspel (*PG* 77/33).

Noe ða yr(ð)lingc began to wycenne ðæt land & gesette him wingearð/Coepitque Noe uir agricola exercere terram, et plantauit uineam (*G* 9:20).

Nu ic æne began to sprecenne to minum Drihtne, þonne ic eom dust & ahse/Quia semel coepi, loquar ad Dominum meum, cum sim puluis et cinis (*G* 18:27).

Nu ic æne began to sprecenne to minum Drihtne, ic wylle specan gyt/Quia semel, ait, coepi, loquar ad Dominum meum (*G* 18:31).

& ic beo gemyndig mines weddes wið eow, ðæt heononforð ne byð flod to adylgienne eall flasc/et non erunt ultra aquae diluuii ad delendum uniuersam carnem (*G* 9:15).

ða gesette God æt ðam infære engla hyrd-rædene & fyren swurd to gehealdenne ðone weg to ðam lifes treowe/et collocauit ante Paradisum uoluptatis cherubim, et flammeum gladium atque uersatilem, ad custodiendam uiam ligni uitae (*G* 3:24).

& ðæt flod eode of stowe to stowe ðære wynsumnysse to wæterigenne neorxnawang/Et fluuius egrediebatur de loco uoluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum (*G* 2:10).

In Skeat I 100 the sb. is combined with a relative clause, and in Skeat

I 108 the substantival object has two members. It would be stylistically natural that the *to*-inf. precedes those objects. In *PG* 77/33, *G* 9: 20, 18: 27, and 18: 31, the finite verb is *beginnan*. Of 18 specimens of the *to*-infinitives with the finite form of *beginnan* found in the rhythmical prose of *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, 2 have no modifier and two others have the word-order of *X+to-I* with the pronoun in the position of *X*. The remaining 14 cases have the word order *to-I+X*. The same rhythmical prose has 3 examples of the *to*-infinitive accompanying *onginnan*. Their constructions are *to-I+X* (sb.), *X* (sb.)+*to-I* and *X* (pron.)+*to-I+Y* (adv. phrase). (Skeat XXIII has one example of the *to*-inf. with the same finite verb. Its construction is *to-I+X* (adv. phrase). It is still an unsolved problem,¹³⁾ why *beginnan* was the first verb to have the modern word order regularly in the inf. phrase following it.

In *Ælfric's On the Old & New Testament*¹⁴⁾ we came across 8 specimens of *to-I+X*, of which five have *beginnan* as the finite verb followed by the *to*-inf. We cannot find any example of *X+to-I* with *beginnan* in this work of rhythmic prose, either.

All the six examples of *to-I+X* in *G* follows the word order of the corresponding passages in the Vulgate Bible. In *G* 2: 10 the preceding modifier of the finite verb must have caused *neorxnawang* to follow the *to*-inf.

Many examples of *to-I+X* are found in these materials, but this would not be said to give a deadly blow to our hypothesis if we examine all of them.

3.2. The specimens of the *to*-inf. with more than two modifiers are as follows.

ic hæbbe nu gegaderod on þyssere bec þæra halgene þrowunga þe me to onhagode on englisc to awendene (*LS Preface* 37). (*X* (rel. particle) ...

13) According to Bock (*op. cit.*, pp. 171—2) *beginnan* appeared much later than *onginnan*. Is it absurd to conjecture like this? *Beginnan* belonged to the colloquial style and had been thought unworthy to be used in written works. But once it appeared in literature, it brought in colloquial word order with it. The present writer has no evidence to confirm it as yet.

14) *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, (ed. S.J. Crawford) *EETS OS* 160.

...Y+to-I)

pa puhte me hefigtime þe to tiþienne þæs (PG 76/3). (X+to-I+Y)

ac swa fullice þæt us sceamað hyt openlice to secgenne (G 19:3).

(X+Y+to-I)

4.1. The distribution of the word orders in the rhythmical prose of Skeat *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* is as follows.

Table III

Word Order Classification	X+to-I	to-I+X	to-I	Total
A	62 (0.385%)	64 (0.398%)	35 (0.217%)	161
B	76 (0.472%)	63 (0.391%)	22 (0.137%)	161

The X's of the infinitival phrases in Classification A might be sorted as follows.

	X+to-I	to-I+X	to-I
Substantival Regimen	27	34	
Pronominal Regimen	14	5	
Substantival Clause	0	2	
Adverb	10	8	
Adverbial Phrase	11	15	
Adverbial Clause	0	0	
Total	62	64	35

The pronominal regimen generally precedes the to-I. In 3 cases (VIII 125, XXV 310, XXXI 535) the pronoun following the inf. is accompanied by the relative clause¹⁵⁾ (a). Long units usually follow the inf. This rule applies to the substantival clause (b), and some substantival regimens. Some of them (XVII 100, XXV 113, XXXVI 20, XXXVI 85, XXXV 220) are accompanied by the relative clause (c), and in one case the regimen consists of sb.+sb. (d). In some cases the modifier of the finite verb precedes the to-inf., followed by the modifier of its

15) The remaining two are caused to stand after the to-inf. by prosodic demands (XXIV 182, XXIX 44).

own (XXI 233, XXXII 146, etc.) (e). Sometimes the modifiers are split as in IV 117 (f). This proves, with the possibility of the *to*-inf. standing between the antecedent and relative clause (g), that there was some scope for selection as regards the word order, in other words, we should like to admit, there were the neutral, fundamental and grammatical order and the stylistic one. According to Classification A, the specimens of *to*-I+X are more numerous than those of X+*to*-I. But Classification B might indicate the real state English had attained in the 11th century through what Bock called the *syntaktische Gliederverschiebung*.

- (a) Eala ðu arleasosta
ne sceamode þe to ceorfanne þæt þæt ðu sylf suce (VIII 125).
- (b) and began to wundrigenne hu he wurde ðider gebrohte (VI 175).
- (c) Us sceamað to secgenne ealle ða sceandlican wigluna
þe ge dwæs-menn drifað ðurh deofles lare (XVII 100).
- (d) On þam dagum wæs; alyfed to alecgenne his fynd
and swiþost ða hæðenan þe him hetole wæron (XXV 684).
- (e) oðþæt heom laðode eallum þæt hi swa oft arisan
hwilon prywa on niht hwilon feower syðum
to singenne þone lofsang þonne hi slapan scoldon (XXI 233).
- (f) ac wæron lust-bære for þone leofan drihten
wita to þrowienne and eac wælhreowne deaðe (IV 117).
- (g) we synd geare
ealle þa þincg to gehyrenne þe se hælend þe bebead (X 144).

4.2. The word order in most cases which are contrary to the pattern found in Skeat XXIII, XXIIIB, XXX, & XXXIII seems to be determined by various prosodic demands, such as those of alliteration and proportion in one line. In the following quotations, for example, such considerations must have determined the word-order to some degree.

and wæs þyder geboren to biddenne his hæle (VI 256).
he wolde...
and to helle gecuman to gehelpene adames (XXIV 179).
and þis unscaððige hryper geswic to dreccenne (XXXI 1049).

Of course, other factors must be taken into account, to take a few examples, the anaphoric sense in XXXI 1049, and in XXIV 179 chiasmus.

4.3. If the *to*-inf. has more than two modifiers, the chief patterns are similarly the following three: (a) *X+to-I+Y*, (b) *to-I+X+Y*, (c) *X (...)+Y+to-I*. In the first pattern *X* is often a short modifier, that is, a substantive or pronoun while *Y* is a long modifier, *e.g.* an adverbial phrase. The second pattern is caused principally by prosodic demands. The pattern *X (...)+Y+to-I* is met with (i) when *X* is a relative particle, (ii) when prosody demands it or (iii) when both *X* and *Y* are small words such as pronouns or particles.

- (a) and sealde him leafe to siþigenne forð
and þæt lic to berenne to byrgene (XXXI 384—5).
ac se fæder ne geswac
hine to biddenne mid wope oþþæt þa oþre bisceopas
... gemacodon þæt he eode
to þam licgendan mædene (XXXI 497).
Heold swa þeah sumne dæl ham to berenne mid him (III 163).
- (b) Wæs eac micel wundor þæt an wulf wearð asend
þurh godes wissunge to bewerigenne þæt heafod
wið þa oþre deor (XXXII 146).
and he cymð to demenne ælcum be his dædum
on ende þyssere worulde mid wuldor-fullum englum (XXIX 44).
þa þe habbað geleafan and leornodon to campienne
oncean þone swicolan feond unforhte þurh god (V 242).
- (c) (i) ac syle nu on gesundfulnysse þam soðan hælende
swa hwæt swa þu gemyntest on forð-siþe to donne (IX 51).
(ii) He eac ne wandode on þam widgillan felda
þa hæþenan to cristnigenne, þa þa hi on crist gelyfdon
(XXXI 1036).
(iii) þa wandode he lange
him þæt to secgenne (XXXI 698).

When the inf. has both dative and accusative regimens, their order is determined by their length, alliteration, etc.

Ongan þa to secgenne þone soþan geleafan
þam hæðenan þegne be ðæs hælendes fære (X 154).
and Iulianus se casere
gegaderod his here and began to gifenne
ælcum his cempum cynelice sylene (XXXI 96).

for-þan -þe we efstað swyðe
 eow mannum to secgenne hu hi gemartyrode wæron (XXXV 221).

The numbers of these pattern are as follows.

(a)	$X + to-I + Y (+Z)^{16)}$	14
(b)	$X (...) + Y + to-I$	5
(c)	$X + Y + to-I + Z$	1
(d)	$to-I + X + Y$	15
(e)	$to-I + X + Y + Z$	5

All the patterns except the first two are mainly caused by prosodic demands, as stated above. But the first pattern is still fairly prevalent.

4.4. P. Bacquet distinguishes the pattern $X + to-I$ from that $X... + to-I$ in his *La structure de la phrase verbale à l'époque alfrédienne*, p. 554. We can find only 3 specimens of the $X... + to-I$ type. Besides, we have 2 of the $X... + Y + to-I$. In this rhythmical prose those 3 examples of $X... + to-I$ are, (a) when X is a relative pronoun or interrogative, and (b) when it is demanded by prosody.

- (a) ðu swylce for godas hæfst þe ðe sceamað to ge-euen-læcenne (VIII 76).
 On hwilcum godum tihst þu us to gelyfenne? (XIV 148).
 (b) and þis unscaððige hryper geswic to dreccenne (XXXI 1049).

In this paper these patterns are put under the same headings as $X +$

- 16) In XXV 144, if *æt ðam ælmihtigan gode* is not the attribute of *þæs ecan ærihtes*, and in XXXI 497, which is quoted above, if *obþæt þa obre bisceopas...* is not an adverbial clause modifying the finite verb *geswac*, the structure of the infinitive phrase will be $X + to-I + Y + Z$. There is no other specimen of this pattern in the *Lives of Saints*.

Selre us is to sweltenne and soðlice anbidian

þæs ecan æristes æt ðam ælmihtigan gode (XXV 144).

Is it possible to construe such examples as the following as (a) $X (...) + to-I + Y$ and (b) $to-I + X + Y$? If it is, the number of $X + to-I + Y$ will become 19, that of $X + Y + to-I$ 6, and that of $to-I + X + Y$ 20.

- (a) and betæhte þone halgan sumum hundredes ealdre
 to healdenne on cwearterne (XXII 222).
 and se hælend betæhte þone halgan thoman
 him ham to hæbbenne (XXXVI 50).
 (b) and gewilnode to ðrowigenne
 for cistes naman þa cwealm- bæræn wita (VIII 22).

to-I, X+to-I+Y and X+Y+to-I patterns.

4.5. In his *History of the English Gerund*¹⁷⁾ Curme asserts that the verbal noun *-ung* could freely have an accusative object in Ælfric's works. But Callaway opposes him in *Concerning the Origin of the Gerund in English* (*Klaeber Miscellany*, Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1929), saying that the construction of *-ung*+an accusative was still an unnatural style, a literal translation from Latin. It is evident that the *to*-inf. made more rapid progress with verbalization than the verbal noun *-ung*. Of 19 specimens of the *to*-inf. in *Beowulf* 8—9 have *adverbial* modifiers. One of them has a clause (a), and another a gen. regimen (b). If *since bryttan* in 1922 is not a kind of anacolouthon, *Beowulf* will have one genuine case of the *to*-inf. with an accusative object (c). Hence we can conclude that the verbalizing tendency had increased since. Callaway offers 8¹⁸⁾ passive infinitives as the subject in his *The Inf. in Anglo-Saxon* (3 examples

17) *Englische Studien* 45, 1912 (pp. 349—80).

18) These 8 specimens are: *Napier's Ad. to Th.* 101.322, *Luke* 13.16, *ib.* 17.25, *Bede* 382.13, *Wærf.* 287.14, and *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* XXIIIB 438, 439, XXX 125 (not Ælfric's works). *Napier's Ad. to Th.* 101.322 is an allusion to *Matt.* 18.9. All the others except those of the *L.S.* are literal translation from Latin. But in *Wærf.* 287.14 the bare inf. is not the subject, but a modifier of the impersonal verb *lystan*, when applying Bock's standard strictly (Bock, *op. cit.*, p. 134).

ða ðuhte hire, ðæt hire lyste beon to ðam mægdenum geðeoded=
(*Patrologiae Latinae* 77, 348 C) Quibus illa cum admisceri appeteret (Hecht, H.: *Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, Grein-Wulker's *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*, vol. v, Leipzig, 1900, 1907).

In *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* XXIIIB 438, 439 (Skeat), it might be better to find one inf. This construction might have been brought about by the inf. of the Latin original, but the passage is not a word-for-word translation. In *L.S.* XXX 125 the present writer cannot find a Latin original. Bock does not think the inf. to be a bare one used as the subject, but to be combined with *to* of the preceding *to*-inf. See Bock, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

forþon witodlice genoh rihtlic is me swa besmitenre fram pinre clænan ungewemmednyssse beon ascirod and fram aworpen (XXIIIB 438)/ Domina virgo, quae Deum genuisti secundum carnem, scio quia nec condecens nec opportunum sit me sic horridam adorare imaginem tuam vel contemplari oculis tantis sordibus pollutis (*Vitae Patrum* 682 A, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*. LXXIII, ed. J.P. Migne, Paris, 1879).

from the *Lives of Saints*). Most of them are literal translations from Latin and all of them are bare infinitives except the *Lives of Saints* XXX 125 (d), which chapter is, as is said above, not Ælfric's work. This may be an early instance (or the earliest) of the passive *to*-inf. in English. Here, too, we can perceive the verbalizing tendency of the *to*-inf.

- (a) ofost is selest/to gecyðanne hwanan eowre cyme syndon (*Beow.* 256—7).
- (b) næs ðær mara fyrst/freode to friclan (*ibid.* 2555—6).
- (c) næs him feor þanon/to gesecanne since bryttan,/Higelac Hrepling (*ibid* 1921—3).
- (d) swa þe eac gedafenað to efestenne þæt þu me þam undeadlican cynincge pine trywa gehealde and on þissum tidum beon gecostnod þurh þrowunga and geswinc (XXX. 123—5).

4.6. *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* shows us various word orders in the *to*-inf. This is due to the fact that most chapters of it are written in rhythmical prose. We cannot completely agree with Bacquet who says, "Dans bien des cas, l'allitération, par exemple, influe davantage sur le choix du vocabulaire que sur la place des éléments de phrase" (Bacquet, *op. cit.*, p. 10). As to the *to*-inf., at least in ordinary prose, we cannot say there was complete freedom in the word-order in Old English. If we analyze seemingly chaotic conditions, we can discern two strata, the fundamental neutral order (X+*to*-I) and the stylistic one (*to*-I+X). Freedom in the word order was freedom of selecting either of them. In this we could say that OE had a principle of its own. In rhythmical prose (and in verse) we see another principle of prosodic demand. These two principles determined the actual word order in Ælfric's works. But the actual complicated word order, it seems, came to lose its original significance, and led people to think that they had liberty in the word order as to the *to*-inf. If we only take the specimens of the inf. whose grammatical function is clear according to Bock's principle, in the *Peterborough Chronicle* (1070—1154)¹⁹⁾, for example, the numbers of the three kinds of the word orders of the *to*-inf. phrases are as follows.

19) *Two of the Saxon Chronicles* 2 vols. (ed. C. Plummer & J. Earle, Oxford, 1892—9).

The Peterborough Chronicle 1070—1154 (ed. C. Clark, Oxford, 1958).

Table IV

Section Word Order	1070—1121	1122—1131	1132—1154
X+ <i>to</i> -I	{sb. 11 14 {pron. 1 {adv. 2	{sb. 2 3 {adv. 1	{sb. 2 3 {adv. 1
<i>to</i> -I	3	2	1
<i>to</i> -I+X	{sb. 3 7 {sb. clause 1 {adv. phrase 3	0	{sb. 1 4 {pron. 2 {adv. 1

(We have excluded 8 *to*-infinitives whose grammatical function is equivocal, one example of the *be*+*to*-inf. construction and the two *for* (...) *to*-inf. phrases in 1127).

Sb. (=substantive), pron. (=pronoun), adv. (=adverb), sb. clause (=substantival clause) and adv. phrase (=adverbial phrase) are terms which are represented by X.

5.1. It would seem that this table shows some tendency in the choice of the word order. The specimens with the modifier preceding the *to*-inf. are still more in number than those with the modifier following. But if we examine each and all specimens, we cannot find any palpable principle which brings about the actual word order in each case. In some a short modifier stands before the inf. and in others after, while a long modifier may stand before the inf. There seems to have been no stylistic concern.

5.2. It would be better to quote all the examples of the *to*-inf. found in 1070—1121.

(a) X+*to*-I

and on þan Sunnandæge þæræfter, toforan þam weofode on Westmynstre, Gode and eallan folce behet ealle þa nriht to aleggenne þe on his brøðer timan wæran and þa betstan lage to healdene þe on æniges cynges dæge toforan him stodan (1100). [sb.+*to*-I+rel. clause/sb.+*to*-I+rel. clause]

and se cyng him ongean þa Manige behet,...gebygle to donne (1091). [sb...adj.+*to*-I]

forþam he pohte his hired on Winceastre to healdenne (1097). [sb. + adv. phrase + *to-I*]

And se eorl innon Normandig...mid þam cyng of France and mid eallon þan þe hi gegaderian mihton...pohtan hine inne to besittanne (1094). [pron. + adv. + *to-I*]

and syððan hider suð gewænde and mycele mænige cyrlisces folces mid wifan and mid orfe þyder sænde, þær to wunigenne & þet land to tilianne (1092). [adv. + *to-I*/sb. + *to-I*]

eall þis wæs God mid to gremienne / and þas arme leode mid to tregienne (1104). [sb. + adv. + *to-I*/sb. + adv. + *to-I*]

Ðær wurdon þa forewearda full worhte and þa aðas gesworene his dohter þam Casere to gifene (1109). [sb. + sb. + *to-I*]

And on his broke he Gode fela behæsa behet, his agen lif on riht to lædene, and Godes cyrcean griðian and friðian and næfre ma eft wið feo gesyllan, and ealle rihte lage on his þeode to habbene (1093). [sb. + adv. phrase + *to-I*/sb. + I/I/adv. + adv. + adv. phrase + I/sb. + adv. phrase + *to-I*]

(b) *to-I*

begeat swiðe mycelne sceatt of his mannan þær he mihte ænige teale to habban, oððe mid rihte oððe elles (1085).

and manige oðre unriht hi dydan þe sindon earfeþe to areccenne (1086).

(c) *to-I* + X

Nis eaðe to asecgenne þises landes earmða þe hit to þysan timan dreogende wæs (1104). [*to-I* + sb. with rel. clause]

Gif hwa gewilnige(ð) to gewitane hu gedon mann he wæs, oððe hwilcne wurðscipe he hæfde, oððe hu fela lande he wære hlaford, ðonne wille we be him awritan swa swa we hine ageaton ðe him on locodan and oðre hwile on his hirede wunedon (1086). [*to-I* + sb. clause]

and into ælcere scire man seonde hundred punda feos to dælanne earme mannan for his saule (1086) [*to-I* + sb. + adv. phrase]

se eorl of Normandige...pohte to gewinnane Engleland mid þæra manna fultume þe wæron innan þisan lande ongear pone cyng (1087). [*to-I* + sb. + adv. phrase with rel. clause]

and he pohte to donne be him eallswa Iudas Scarioth dyde be ure Drihtene (1087). [*to-I* + adv. phrase + adv. clause]

Dises geares me began ærost to weorcenne on þam niwan mynstre on Ceortesæge (1110). [*to-I* + adv. phrase + adv. clause]

Dises geares eac com se eorl Rotbert of Normandig to sprecene wið pone cyng her on lande (1103). [*to-I* + adv. phrase + adv. + adv. phrase]

(d) *To-inf.* in equivocal use.

þet næs an ælþig hide ne an gyrde landes, ne furðon—hit is sceame to tellanne, ac hit ne þuhte him nan sceame to donne—an oxe ne an cu ne an swin næs belyfon þet næs gesæt on gewrite (1085).

oððe hwilce gerihtæ he ahte to habbanne to xii monþum of ðære scire (1085).
forðig him wæs betæht þe castel to healdene (1087).

6.1. The present writer came across 170 *to*-infinitives in *Ancrene Riwele*²⁰⁾ (British Museum MS Nero A 14) besides 15 examples of the *to*-inf. whose grammatical function is equivocal or ambiguous after the terminology of Ellegard²¹⁾ and 16 examples of the *be*+*to*-inf. construction. These infinitives would be sorted as follows.

Table V

X+ <i>to</i> -I	<i>to</i> -I+X	<i>to</i> -I	Total
21	56	93 ²²⁾	170

The 21 X+*to*-I phrases are:

- (a) 7 examples in which short X's (pron. 4, pron. adv. 1, adv. 2) precede the *to*-inf. (124/7—8, 218/2, 304/3, 330/15, 336/26, 368/8, 388/12),
- (b) 6 examples in which emphasis causes this order,
- (c) 7 examples whose construction is X+*to*-I+Y (80/6—8, 134/21—3, 202/6, 206/7, 222/28—9, 310/11, 402/9), and in one of which X is an interrogative,
- (d) one example whose X is a relative pronoun.

*Ancrene Wisse*²³⁾ (MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402) shows the

20) *The Ancren Riwele* (ed. J. Morton, London, 1853).

21) Alvar Ellegard, *The Auxiliary Do* (Stockholm, 1953).

22) 11 examples of *þet is to siggen* and 2 of *þet is to understonden* are counted as *to*-I in this paper, e.g.,

þet is to siggen, þenc oðe attrie pinen þet God suffrede oðe rode (274/26)

þet is to understonden, þuruh bone of bitternesse þet me her drief for God...þeo schal beon iwend to wine (376/6).

The composite passive inf. is counted as *to*-I, e.g.,

Kunde of gode heorte is to beon offeared of sunne, þer ase non nis ofte (336/21). [*to*-I+adv. phrase]

ICnoven heo is wel, vor þurh þ ilke, þ heo weneð to beon wis iholden, he understont þ heo is sot (64/27—6). [*to*-I]

23) *Ancrene Wisse* (ed. J.R.R. Tolkien & N.R. Ker, London 1962), *EETS* 249.

same order in the corresponding passages as *Ancrene Riwe*. A few examples (and all of Item *b*) will be quoted below.

- (a) Ure Louerd giue ou wit & strengþe wel to wičstonden (218/2).
- (b) Pis fette kelf hauēð þe ueondes strenčðe to unstrenčðen, & forte makien buwen toward sunne (138/2—3).
 Salue ich bihet to techen ou togeines ham, & bote (176/20—21).
 Sum he is abuten to makien so swuðe uleon monne uroure (224/27).
 Þe bitocunnges herof is mucche need to understonden (270/23).
 Wummen & children þet habbeð i-swunken uor ou, hwatse ge sparieð on ou makieð ham to etene (416/13).
 uor swuch ouh wummone lore to beon—luuelich & liðe, and seldwonne sturne (428/25).
- (c) Vor hwat makeð us strong uorte drien derf ine Godes seruise, & ine uondunges to wrastlen stalewardliche agein þes deoffles swenges? (80/6—8).
 he mei iseon hwareuore he ouh te siken sore (310/11).
- (d) þe sixtene stucchenes þet ich bihet to dealen (342/13).

6.2. In *Ancrene Riwe* the order *to-I+X* is predominantly superior in numbers to *X+to-I*. In 7 cases short elements precede the *to-inf.*, but we come across 12 examples in which pronouns (6 in number) and short adverbs²⁴⁾ (6 in number) follow the *inf.* The *to-inf.* which has more than two modifiers appears in the construction *to-I+X+Y (+Z)* in 31 cases. From these facts we may be able to conclude that in *Ancrene Riwe* the order *to-I+X* was normal, fundamental and neutral, or rather grammatical, while *X+to-I* was stylistic.

7.1. In Late OE as represented by Skeat XXIII, XXIIIB, XXX and XXXIII, and Ælfric's ordinary and rhythmical prose, the modifier of the *to-inf.* had already begun to move towards the end of the infinitival phrase. At a glance, OE looks as if it were in chaotic conditions as regards the word order in the infinitival phrase. But if we examine materials closely, we can distinguish two orders, grammatical and stylistic.²⁵⁾ In the *Peterborough Chronicle* 1070—1154, the modifier still precedes

24) We counted *nout* as an adverb in 416/14.

25) "Cela revient à dire que ce système, loin d'être simple, sera complexe et que cette complexité nous amènera à admettre l'hypothèse de l'existence d'une stylistique ou, si l'on veut, d'une rhétorique structurale" (Bacquet, *op. cit.*, p. 13).

the *to*-inf. often. But these two orders are indiscriminately used. In *Ancrene Riwe* *to*-I+X is normal and X+*to*-I is stylistic.²⁶⁾ As far as the word-order is concerned, the revolving table of English turned half round with the *Peterborough Chronicle* 1070—1154 as its pivot. We have only one instance each for *for...to*-inf. and *forto*-inf. in the *Peterborough Chronicle*. But in *Ancrene Riwe* we come across surprisingly numerous instances of *vorto*-, *forto*-, *vorte*-, *forte*-, *vort*- and *fort*-inf. This could not be said to be accidental, seeing that the modifier moved to the end of the infinitival phrase during the transitional period from OE to ME.

ADDENDUM

All the phrases of the *to*-infinitives in the rhythmical prose of *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* which are grammatically construed in two ways are listed below.

- (a) The examples whose construction may be construed as *to*-I or X+*to*-I.

Ʒa be-tæhte chromatius se heah-gerefa Ʒa cnihtas
sumum Ʒegne to ge-healdenne se hatte nicostratus (V 33).

Ʒu cyst Ʒæt ðu gecure

Ʒa tintregu to ðrowigenne (VIII 73).

Moyse for-bead for mycelre getacnunge
on ðære ealdan æ æfter godes dihte

Ʒa nytenu to etanne Ʒam ealdan folce (XXV 42)

forðan Ʒe moyse for-bead

swyn to etenne swa swa we ær sædon (XXV 89).

gif Ʒu wilt me befeatan

cnapan to lærenne ic him cuðlice tæce (XXXVI 76).

Sumum menn wile Ʒincan syllic Ʒis to gehyrenne (XXV 564).

Ʒa ðincg Ʒe him god lænde on ðysum life to brucenne (XVI 328).

for-Ʒan-Ʒe hit ne gebyrað Ʒam Ʒe beoð gecorene

gode to Ʒegnigenne Ʒæt hi geƷwærlæcan sceolon (XXXII 223).

and hi bestungon him on muð mid mycelre ðreatunge

Ʒone fulan mete Ʒe moyse forbead

godes folce to Ʒicgenne for Ʒære gastlican getacnunge (XXV 36)

- (b) The example whose construction may be construed as *to*-I or X+*to*-I+Y+Z.

26) "Nous aurons l'occasion de voir dans le deuxième volume que ces oppositions ne sont pas nécessairement constantes et qu'elle peuvent parfois cesser d'exister. On verra même comment telle forme de relief, valable dans une période déterminée, peut devenir à un stade ultérieur une forme de parfaite neutralité" (*ibid.*, p. 26).

pam alyfde se casere heora cristen-dom to healdenne
butan ælcere eht-nysse for ðam arwurðan cynne (IV 227).

- (c) The examples whose construction may be construed as *to-I+X* or *X (...)+to-I+Y*.

and betæhte pone halgan sumum hundredes ealdre
to healdenne on cwearterne (XXII 222).
Nis nan earfoðnysse ðam ælmihtigan gode
on feawum mannum oððe on micclum werode
to helpenne on gefeohte and healdan þa ðe he wille (XXV 310).
and se deofol wyrðð þonne wundra þurh his scin- cræft
mid leasum gedwimorum to dweligenne þa geleaffullan (XXXV 351).
ac swylc weorc nis gewunelic to wyrçenne on englalande (XXXVI 100).

- (d) The examples whose construction may be construed as *to-I* or *to-I+X*.

Hi wurdon þa beswungene and swyðlice getintregode
swa swa þa wæs gewunelic to witnigenne forligr (XII 186).
þa þe folgiað criste
and gewilniað to hæbbenne þa heofonlican mihta (XXXVI 159).
gif he þonne ne mage macian þe oþer
unc bam mæg helpa to hæbbenne ðis an (XXXVI 183).

N.B. In this paper a few *to*-infinitives of Skeat, *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* are excluded which are found in the passages grounded not on British Museum, Cotton Julius E vii, but on other manuscripts.

As to *Ælfric's Preface to Genesis*, 11. 1—60 are grounded on MS Bodley Laud Mis. 509 and 11. 61—121 on MS Claudius B IV in Crawford's edition.

The ordinary prose chapters of *Genesis* are grounded on British Museum MS Cotton Claudius B IV.

N.B. 2. While reading the proof of this paper, two more specimens of the *to-I*. were found out in the *Peterborough Chronicle* 1070—1121.

on manige oðre deorwuðe þingon, þe earfoðe sindon to ateallene
(1086).
and slogon and adrengton ma þonne ænig man wiste to tellanne
(1087).